

In fact, there have been countless public meetings and forums on the revision of the Master Manual over the years. And that's as it should be.

So let's not create a special exemption for the Corps. Let's require them to abide by the same law that we apply to everybody else.

Let's allow the regular process to work. Let's allow the agencies to continue to consult and figure out how to strike the balance that's necessary to manage this mighty and beautiful river: for upstream states, for downstream states, and for the protection of endangered species; that is, for all of us.

PNTR

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I am very glad the Senate has voted to invoke cloture and will finally get to the bill granting China permanent normal trade relations status. That bill will come up in September. That legislation has the strong support of at least three-quarters of the Members of this body, and it is deeply in our national interests. We should have rapidly disposed of it months ago. But later is better than never. I hope very much when we bring it up in September that we have a very large vote—at least three-quarters, as I earlier stated.

When we make that vote, it will be a profound choice. The question will be, Do we bring China into the orbit of the global trading community with its rule of law? Or do we choose to isolate and contain China, creating a 21st century version of a cold war in Asia?

China is not our enemy. China is not our friend. The issue for us is how to engage China, and this means engagement with no illusions—engagement with a purpose. How do we steer China's energies into productive, peaceful, and stable relationships within the region and globally? For just as we isolate China at our peril, we engage them to our advantage.

The incorporation of China into the WTO—and that includes granting them PNTR—is a national imperative for the United States of America.

I might add that when the debate comes up on PNTR in September, various Senators will offer amendments, as is their right, to that legislation. I think it is essential that we maintain the integrity of the House-passed bill. Many of those amendments that will be coming are very worthy amendments, and in another context they should pass. I would vote for them. But to maintain the integrity of the House-passed bill, I will strongly urge my colleagues to vote against amendments that are added on to the PNTR legislation, as worthy as they are, even though Senators certainly have a right to bring them up, because if those amendments were to pass, we would no longer be maintaining the integrity of

the House-passed bill. But the bill would have to go back to conference, and that would, in my judgment, jeopardize passage of PNTR to such a great degree that we should take the extraordinary step of not passing those amendments.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I rise to address the body on an issue.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Minnesota was to be recognized.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I rise to participate in the debate on the motion to proceed. But I have been doing work with my colleague, Senator BROWNBACK. I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to follow Senator BROWNBACK.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Thank you, very much, Mr. President. I thank my colleague from Minnesota for doing that.

TRAFFICKING VICTIMS PROTECTION ACT OF 2000

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I recognize my colleague from Minnesota today, for legislation that he and I have been working on together has passed this body. It previously passed the House, and now will go to conference. It is The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000. It is a bill—one of the first perhaps in the world—to address the growing ugly practice of sex trafficking where people are traded into human bondage—again, into the sex and prostitution business around the world. It is an ugly practice that is growing. More organized crime is getting into it. It is one of the darker sides of globalization that is taking place in the world.

It is estimated that the size of this business is \$7 billion annually, only surpassed by that of the illegal arms trade on an illegal basis. If those numbers aren't stark enough, the numbers of the individuals involved is stark enough.

Our intelligence community estimates that up to 700,000 women and children—primarily young girls—are trafficked, generally from poorer countries to richer countries each year, and sold into bondage; raped, held against their will, locked up, and food withheld from them until they submit to this sex trade. That is taking place in our world in the year 2000. Our intelligence community estimates that 50,000 are trafficked into the United States into this ugly traffic.

I had a personal experience with this earlier this year. In January, I traveled to Nepal and met with a number of girls who had been trafficked and then

returned. They had been tricked to leave their villages. Many of them were told at the ages of 11, 12, or 13: Come with us. We are going to get you a job as a housekeeper, or making rugs, or some other thing in Bombay, India, that will be much better than what you are doing now.

Their families don't have the wherewithal to pay their livelihood. Their families are poor as can be. They are not able to feed them, and the families say: Go ahead.

They then take them across the border. They take their papers from them. They force them into brothels in Bombay or Calcutta or somewhere else and force them into this trade.

Some of these girls make their way back at the age of 16 or 17 years of age. Two-thirds of them now carry AIDS and/or tuberculosis. Most of them come home to die.

It is one of the ugliest, darkest things I have seen around the world.

The Senate took the step today to start to deal with this practice that is occurring around the world, and that is occurring in the United States.

My colleague, Senator WELLSTONE, and I worked this legislation together to be able to get it moved through this body.

I am so thankful to him and other people who have worked greatly on this legislation to get it passed.

I particularly want to recognize, on my staff, Sharon Payt, who has leaned in for a long time to be able to get this done.

This is the new, modern form of slavery.

Trafficking victims are the new enslaved of the world. Until lately, they have had no advocates, no defenders, no avenues of escape, except death, to release them from the hellish types of circumstances and conditions they have been trafficked into. This is changing rapidly—a new movement of awareness is forming to wrench freedom for the victims and combat trafficking networks. This growing movement runs from 'right' to 'left,' from Chuck Colson to Gloria Steinem, and from SAM BROWNBACK to PAUL WELLSTONE. Our legislation, which passed today, is part of that movement, providing numerous protections and tools to empower these brutalized people toward re-capturing their dignity and obtaining justice, and getting their lives back.

Trafficking has risen dramatically in the last 10 to 15 years with experts speculating that it could exceed the drug trade in revenues in the next few decades. It is coldly observed that drugs are sold once, while a woman or child can be sold 20 and even 30 times a day. This dramatic increase is attributed also to the popularizing of the sex industry worldwide, including the increase of child pornography, and sex tours in Eastern Asia. As the world's

dark appetite for these practices grows, so do the number of victims in this evil manifestation of global trade.

The victims are usually transported across international borders so as to 'shake' local authorities, leaving them defenseless in a foreign country, virtually held hostage in a strange land. Perpetrating further vulnerability, often they are "traded" routinely among brothels in different cities. This deliberate ploy robs them of assistance from family, friends, and authorities.

The favorite age for girls in some countries is around 13 years of age. I have a 14-year-old daughter and it almost makes me cry to think of somebody being taken out of the home at that age and submitted and subjected and forced into this type of situation. Thirteen is the favorite age. There is a demand particularly for virgins because of the fear of AIDS. Now, imagine, your daughter, your sister, your granddaughter in that hellish condition.

International trafficking routes are very specific and include the Eastern European states, particularly Russia and the Ukraine, into Central Europe and Israel. Other routes include girls sold or abducted from Nepal to India—the Nepalese girls are prized because they are beautiful, illiterate, extremely poor with no defenders, and compliant, making it easy to keep them in bondage. In Eastern Asia, most abductees are simple tribal girls from isolated mountain regions who are forced into sexual service, primarily in Thailand and Malaysia. These are only a few of the countless but repeatedly traveled routes.

One of two methods, fraud or force, is used to obtain victims. Force is often used in the cities wherein, for example, the victim is physically abducted and held against her will, sometimes in chains, and usually brutalized through repeated rape and beatings. Regarding fraudulent procurement, typically the "buyer" promises the parents that he is taking their daughter away to become a nanny or domestic servant, giving the parents a few hundred dollars as a "down payment" for the future money she will earn for the family. Then the girl is transported across international borders, deposited in a brothel and forced into the trade until she is no longer useful having contracted AIDS. She is held against her will under the rationale that she must "work off" her debt which was paid to the parents, which usually takes several years, if she remains alive that long.

A Washington Post article, *Sex Trade Enslaves East Europeans*, dated July 25th, vividly captures the suffering of one Eastern Europe woman who was trafficked through Albania to Italy: "As Irina recounts the next part of her story, she picks and scratches at the skin on her face, arms and legs, as if

looking for an escape . . . she says the women were raped by a succession of Albanian men who stopped by at all hours, in what seemed part of a carefully organized campaign of psychological conditioning for a life of prostitution." This insidious activity must be challenged, and our legislation would do exactly that. That is what this body has passed today.

This legislation establishes, for the first time, a bright line between the victim and perpetrator. Presently, most existing laws internationally fail to distinguish between victims of sexual trafficking and their perpetrators. Sadly and ironically, victims are punished more harshly than the traffickers, because of their illegal immigration status and lack of documents (which the traffickers have confiscated to control the victim).

In contrast, our legislation punishes the perpetrators and provides an advocacy forum to promote international awareness, as well as providing the following:

- Criminal punishment for persons convicted of operating as traffickers in the U.S.

- Creates a new immigration status termed a "T" visa for trafficking victims found in the U.S., to promote aggressive prosecution of traffickers.

- Directs USAID, as well as domestic government agencies to fund programs for victim assistance and awareness to help stop this practice, both overseas and domestically.

- Establishes an annual reporting mechanism to identify trafficking offenders, both individual and country-specific.

- Advances rule of law programs to promote combating of international sex trafficking.

- Authorizes grants for law enforcement agencies to investigate and prosecute international trafficking, and assist in drafting and implementation of new legislation.

In closing, there is a unique generosity in the American people, who are defined by their vigilance for justice. As we challenge this dehumanizing practice, an inspired movement is growing in America and worldwide. Sparking this awareness are courageous groups which deserve acknowledgment, including the International Justice Mission with Gary Haugen, and the Protection Project with Dr. Laura Lederer, among several others. Both Senator WELLSTONE and I hope this legislation is the beginning of the end for this modern-day slavery known as trafficking.

Mr. President, we had five major health organizations come together and identify the violence in our entertainment that is harming our children. The organizations include the American Medical Association, American Psychological Association, American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psy-

chiatry, the American Academy of Family Physicians, and the American Academy of Pediatricians.

I turn the floor back over to my colleague from Minnesota. Today, his interest has culminated in this legislation passing this body. This is the most significant human rights legislation we have passed this Congress, if not for several years. This is going to save lives. It will start identifying this pernicious, ugly, dark practice around the world for what it is. We are going to start saving people's lives as a result of it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SESSIONS). The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, the Senate tonight passed the Trafficking in Victims Protection Act of 2000. Similar legislation passed the House. The conference committee is committed to this legislation. I don't think there is any question but that the Congress is going to pass this bill. This was a huge step forward.

I thank Senator BROWNBACK who for 3½ years, at least, has been working on this. It started with my wife Sheila, who brought this to my attention. I remember meeting with women from Ukraine—which is where my father was born—describing what had happened to them.

Senator BROWNBACK is absolutely right. This is one of the brutal aspects of this new global economy. It supplements drug trafficking, except quite often it is more profitable, believe it or not, because the women—girls—are recycled over and over again. We are talking about close to 1 million women and girls, the trafficking of these women and girls for purposes of forced prostitution or forced labor.

We are talking about the trafficking of some 50,000 women, girls, to our country. Two miles away, in Bethesda, there was a massage parlor with a group of girls from Ukraine. The country is in economic disarray. They thought this was an opportunity. They came to our country. Their passports were taken away. They were isolated. Senator BROWNBACK talked about the isolation. They were beaten up. They were raped. They were forced into prostitution. In our country, in the year 2000, this goes on in the world, and in the United States of America.

This legislation would never pass without the leadership of Senator BROWNBACK and the leadership of Sharon Payt. I thank Wes Carrington, who is on the floor with me, and Jill Hickson, two fellows who have been gifts from Heaven, and Charlotte Moore, who has been working on this, and my wife Sheila.

I could talk for hours about this, but I will emphasize a couple of key aspects. First, prevention, a focus on doing the public information work in these countries and work with the consulates so these girls have some understanding of what their rights are, so

they are warned about the dangers of this when the recruiters are out there to try to prevent this from happening in the first place; and an emphasis on how you can get economic development from microenterprise to opportunities for women. Part of the problem is the way in which women are so devalued in too many nations. Also, the grinding poverty.

Second, protection. The bitter, bitter, bitter irony, colleagues, is that quite often the victims are the ones who are punished, and these mobsters and criminals who are involved in the trafficking of these women and girls with this blatant exploitation get away with literally murder.

One of the problems is that these girls and women can't step forward because then they will be deported. So we have an extension of temporary visas for up to 3 years for the women, girls, and a final decision is made as to whether or not they can stay in the country.

In addition, there is some help for them. We have in Minnesota the Center for the Treatment of Torture Victims. It is a holy place. It is a spiritual place. Most of these women and men come from Africa. They have been through a living hell. We read about child soldiers. We read about what is happening. It takes a long time for people to be able to rebuild their lives when they have been through this, when they have been tortured.

There are 120 governments today in the world that are engaged in this systematic use of torture today; the same thing for these women and girls. Imagine what it is like for them. There is help for them.

Finally, prosecution, and taking this seriously, treating it as a crime so, for example, if you are trafficking a young girl under the age of 14 and forcing her into prostitution, you face a life sentence in prison.

And finally, not automatic sanctions but a listing of those governments which are involved in the trafficking, which have turned their gaze away and refused to do anything about it. With it being up to a President, be he Democrat or Republican or she a Democrat or Republican, in the future, as to whether or not there is an action to be taken.

It is a good piece of legislation. I think Senator BROWNBAC is right. I think it is the human rights legislation to pass the Congress. It will pass. Mr. Koh, Assistant Secretary of Human Rights at the State Department, has been great. The administration has been supportive. We have had a lot of support from Democrats and Republicans here, and I really feel good about it.

I said to Senator BROWNBAC, I think Senator BENNETT can appreciate this because I think he is like this—the first part I don't want to say is his

view—but there are some days where I just cannot decide whether or not I have really been able to help anybody. You try, but you just sometimes get so frustrated. I think this piece of legislation we passed will help a lot of people. I really do, I say to Senator BROWNBAC. I think it is a good model for other governments, other countries. I am not being grandiose here. I think we can get this out to a lot of fellow legislators in other nations and other NGOs. I know there is a lot of interest.

I rise to speak about this bill, to tell my colleague from Kansas, Senator BROWNBAC, I appreciated working with him, and to say to the Senate—all the Senators; after all, this passed by unanimous consent—thank you, thank you for your support.

THE DEBATE ON CHINA

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, if it is OK with Senator BROWNBAC, I want to briefly respond to my colleague from Montana. I will do it under 10 minutes, to anticipate the debate we are going to have on China.

I think some of this debate has already become confused. My father was born in Odessa, Ukraine, then moved to Russia in the Far East Siberia. His father was a hatter trying to stay ahead of the czarist troops—Jewish. He then moved to Harbin, then to Peking, then came over to the United States of America when he was 17, in 1914, 3 years before the revolution. He then was going to go back, because first it was the Social Democrats but then the Bolsheviks, the Communists, took over, and his family told him not to come back. I believe his father lost all of his family to Stalin. I think they were all murdered, because all the letters stopped.

My father is no longer alive. He spoke 10 languages fluently and was really—you would have liked him, Mr. President.

My father taught me that we should value human rights. Our country is a leader in this area. When we turn our gaze away from the persecution of people and the violation of human rights of people in the world, we diminish ourselves.

This debate we are going to have after Labor Day is not about whether or not we should have trade with China. We have trade with China. We have a tremendous amount of trade. In fact, we have a huge trade deficit, I think to the tune of about \$70 billion.

It is not about whether we should have an embargo of China like an embargo of Cuba. I don't think the embargo of Cuba makes much sense, and certainly no one I know is recommending an embargo of China.

It is not about whether or not we want to isolate China. China is not going to be isolated. China is very much a part of the international economy.

The debate is about whether or not we maintain for ourselves the right to annually review trade relations with China so we at least have some small amount of leverage when it comes to human rights.

According to the State Department report last year on human rights in China:

The Government's poor human rights record deteriorated markedly throughout the year, as the Government intensified efforts to suppress dissent, particularly organized dissent. Abuses includes instances of extrajudicial killings, torture, mistreatment of prisoners, and denial of due process.

The Commission on Religious Freedom chaired by David Saperstein recommended that we not automatically grant normal trade relations with China because of the religious persecution in China and laid out a series of criteria that should be met, and that will be the first amendment I will introduce.

Yes, to us giving China most favored nation status. But not until they at least meet basic, simple, elementary criteria so the people in China have the right to practice their religion. Are we going to turn our gaze away from that?

According to Amnesty International, "throughout China mass summary executions continue to be carried out. At least 6,000 death sentences and 3,500 executions were officially recorded last year."

The real figures are believed to be much higher.

In the debate, I will talk about Wei Jingsheng and Harry Wu—people, in addition to these statistics. But let me be clear to my colleagues. After all the discussion about all the economic relations having led to opening up society and it has all changed, the human rights record has deteriorated. There is not one Senator who can come to the floor and make the argument that, because of trade relations—I understand investment opportunities making a lot of money—the human rights record has improved in China, or that the situation in Tibet has improved, or that people now can practice their religion. It is not true. Don't we want to maintain just a little bit of leverage and just say we have the right to annually review our trade relations with China?

One other point. I think what you are going to see is not more exports to China. I am going to hold every single Senator and I am going to hold the administration accountable as well.

The President came to my State of Minnesota. He said we were going to have all these exports in agriculture, and it was going to help out family farmers who were struggling to survive. I don't know if that is going to be the case. There are 700 million farmers in China. I do know this. What is more likely to happen is there will be more exports in China and multinational corporations will go to China and